

British Museum Expedition  
to Middle Egypt

**A Temple of Domitian  
at El-Ashmunein**

S. R. Snape

Occasional Paper No 68

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## **BRITISH MUSEUM OCCASIONAL PAPERS**

Publishers: British Museum, Great Russell Street  
London WC1B 3DG

Executive Editor: G B Morris, BA

Production Editor: G Bayliss, BA ALA

Distributors: British Museum Publications Ltd  
46 Bloomsbury Street, London WC1B 3QQ

Occasional Paper No.68, 1989:

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ISBN 0 86159 068 6

ISSN 0142 4815

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Thanks are due to a number of people for their help in bringing this work to its completed form. In the first instance I am grateful to Jeffrey Spencer for his assistance in providing the facilities at El-Ashmunein which made possible the initial fieldwork, and for his editorial assistance.

Penelope Wilson provided many invaluable suggestions for possible readings of the frustratingly badly damaged texts in 'ptolemaic' hieroglyphs which are so large a part of the surviving inscribed material from the Domitian Temple.

I would also like to thank the following:- Patricia Spencer; Deborah Roberts; Barbara Watterson; the Officers of the Egyptian Antiquities Organisation in Cairo and Middle Egypt, especially Inspector Mohamed Kamal; Don Bailey, for permission to use the photograph which appears as Plate 18b, taken by him in winter 1988/89 after a fire had cleared many of the reeds obscuring the remains of the Domitian Temple.

A major factor in the completion of this work has been the support and encouragement of my wife, Joyce Tyldesley. To her I dedicate this slim volume.

Steven Snape  
University College London  
Spring 1989

## THE TEMPLE OF DOMITIAN

### Description of the site

In 1980, as part of a preliminary survey preceding its first season of excavation at El-Ashmunein, the British Museum Expedition to Middle Egypt recorded a number of unpublished monuments at the site.<sup>1</sup> One of these monuments was a destroyed temple, several of whose chaotically fallen blocks bear the cartouches of the Emperor Domitian.<sup>2</sup> Facsimile copies were made of a limestone slab with a representation of Domitian offering to Atum, and of a block bearing a series of cartouches of the same emperor.<sup>3</sup>

This temple is sited approximately 150 metres to the south of the village of El-Idara at the northern end of the *tell* of El-Ashmunein.<sup>4</sup> The plan of the Domitian Temple in its present state (Pl. 17, see also photographs Pls. 18a - b) illustrates a jumble of blocks of poor nummulitic local limestone lying at the bottom of a roughly rectangular trench, the result of a modern excavation at the site. In effect the trench is on two levels; most of the floor lies below the surface of the ground-water, even when this water is at its lowest level, but there is a 'terrace' of flat, even ground at the southern end of the trench, 10-15 centimetres above the ground-water. The impression given is that a rectangular trench was sunk over the central and northern parts of the area now exposed, later being extended to the south to follow the large blocks in the centre of that section, and with a small extension in the north-west corner to follow the *in situ* wall. The 'terrace' at the southern end of the trench seems to have served as a marshalling-area to which the better inscribed blocks were taken and stacked, especially the smaller series of column-drum hemispheres.

It is probable that the temple was excavated by Abu Bakr as a part of his activities at El-Ashmunein in the 1940's and 1950's,<sup>5</sup> but the existence of the temple seems to have been first recorded by Roeder who, in the volume on his excavations at El-Ashmunein between 1929-1939, reports that, in March 1957, he first saw the remains of a temple of the Roman period in the area of the Domitian Temple.<sup>6</sup> These ruined fragments included a block with the cartouche of a Roman emperor offering to "Atum, Lord of the Two Lands, the Heliopolitan, great god", and one with an ornamental frieze of alternating cartouches, each on a *nwb* -sign. These two blocks may be identified as those which were published in *Ashmunein (1980)*, leaving no doubt that the building seen by Roeder was part, or all, of the Domitian Temple in its present condition.

During the 1984-5 season, while a member of the British Museum team at El-Ashmunein, the present author carried out further recording work at the Domitian Temple in order to prepare a ground-plan of the temple and to copy in facsimile as many as possible of the inscribed and decorated blocks. However, it should be noted that only those blocks which were accessible during the last two weeks of 1984 (i.e. those above the level of sub-soil water at that time) are included on the plan of the temple remains (Pl. 17). The rising and falling of the sub-soil water level alternately covers and exposes most of the blocks, thus hastening the process of decay of the poor quality limestone. Moreover, the pond in which they lie is stagnant in the extreme and the regular use of this hollow as a public lavatory only adds to the acidity of the water. Much

inscribed material has been so discoloured and corroded that it proved impossible to read or copy. Thus, although inadequate for a comprehensive study of the architectural and inscriptional evidence which this temple would originally have provided, the plan and facsimile copies presented in this volume represent an attempt to record existing and accessible parts of the building while they are still in a fit state to be recorded.

It may be seen that relatively little of the building remains *in situ*, most substantially the wall at the northern end of the trench, standing to a height approximately comparable to the present ground-level (see Fig. 1 below, and Pl.19a), a feature which may have originally alerted the attention of the excavator of the temple to this site. This wall was constructed with architectural techniques typical of the Roman period, such as the 'rusticated' masonry on the northern face of the wall, where only the edges of the outer faces of the blocks have been chiselled flat in order to fit them together, while the central part of the face has been left undressed.<sup>7</sup> Also worthy of note is the straight line incised on the top course of blocks, along which the next row of masonry would have been aligned.<sup>8</sup> This line is inset from the outer edges of the rest of the wall, suggesting that corbelling would have been used at this level, possibly as the roofing course, perhaps indicating that this was the outer northern wall of the temple. Only one block remains in position from this course, Block 37, the one which was re-used from a building of Nectanebo I; that this block was an integral part of the wall and not merely placed in its present location at some later date is strongly suggested by its exact alignment with the incised line. The only other examples of *in situ* masonry are the short length of wall in the central north-eastern part of the trench and the two blocks, one on top of the other, in the north-east corner. The number of what seem to be architraves in the area immediately to the south-east of the northern wall are further evidence of the roofed nature of this part of the temple. It seems likely that more of the temple remains to be excavated; this is certainly the case on the western side of the sondage, for the northern wall runs further to the west than does the western section of the trench. The possible extension of the ruins of the temple in the direction of the other three cardinal points is a possibility which cannot be excluded.

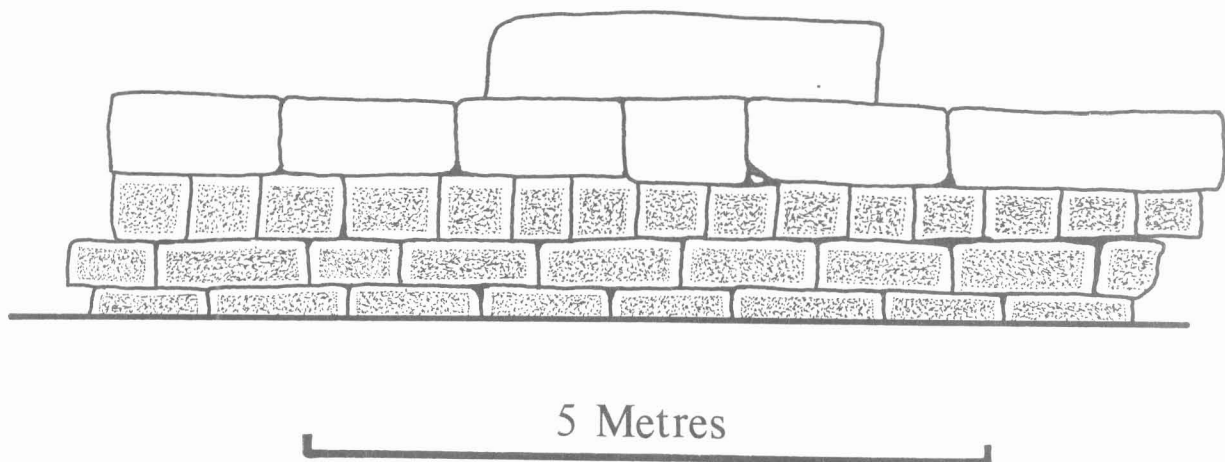


Figure 1: Northern elevation of the north wall

It is very difficult to come to any definite conclusions regarding the original plan of the temple, due to its present state of disarray. However, some particular architectural features of the building may be noted, such as the differing sizes of the semi-circular column-drums; a smaller series (Blocks 1-9, Pls. 1-3) having a mean diameter of 1.15 metres, and larger examples (Blocks 10-15, Pls. 4-7) with a diameter of 1.53 metres. The latter, larger, column-drums suggest a structure of some substance, as does the fractured architrave (Block 17), with another large fragment immediately to the north-west, which must originally have been at least 4 metres long with a width of 1.30 metres. The concentration of column-drums at the southern end of the trench might suggest a portico/colonnade structure. However, post-excavation displacement of the masonry might be a more likely reason for this concentration, although whether this argument holds good for the larger series of semi-circular column-drums is uncertain. On present evidence it is impossible to assess what proportion of the original building has been carried away for re-use in other structures, or has simply not yet been excavated. One may postulate, on present evidence, that the temple was a relatively small structure, perhaps with the later addition of a large-columned structure (e.g. a pronaos) to the south.<sup>9</sup>

There are a number of references on the blocks from the Domitian Temple to the association of a goddess with the temple; "... she makes her seat..." (Block 12, 4), "... who is in the *krt*-shrine..." (Block 10, 4), "... who puts adoration in the great shrine..." (Block 10, 3), "... who comes forth from her shrine (?)..." (Block 14, 1). One might suggest a possible identification of this goddess for, although the scenes and texts recorded in this volume must only represent a small proportion of those originally to be seen on the monument, many of them refer to a goddess who may be the deity given great prominence on the smaller series of column-drums. This goddess is Nehemet-ꜥaway, consort of Thoth.

### The goddess Nehemet-ꜥaway

The goddess Nehemet-ꜥaway was a comparative late-comer in the canon of Egyptian deities, first appearing in Upper Egypt and the Hermopolite Nome in the New Kingdom, and only in Lower Egypt generally from the Twenty-Second Dynasty.<sup>10</sup> She is not attested to any substantial degree until the Graeco-Roman period.<sup>11</sup> As a spouse of Thoth, Nehemet-ꜥaway is found at El-Ashmunein, specifically called "Lady of Khmunu",<sup>12</sup> or Nehemet-ꜥaway "in the midst of Unu".<sup>13</sup> She is also associated with other sites, especially ones connected with Thoth, such as Hermopolis-Bah in the Ibis (Fifteenth Lower Egyptian) Nome.<sup>14</sup> The meaning of the name "Nehemet-ꜥaway" has been the subject of scholarly debate,<sup>15</sup> the most commonly accepted rendition being "she who rescues the plundered".<sup>16</sup> The name is written in a number of orthographic forms,<sup>17</sup> although none of the examples listed by Parlebas is of the same writing as that found on the blocks from the Domitian Temple (with a *mꜣꜥt* feather for *m*).

Nehemet-ꜥaway is depicted iconographically as a female anthropoid deity whose chief distinguishing attribute is her crown. The first type of crown to be shown on representations of Nehemet-ꜥaway was the Hathorian crown of a solar disc between bovine horns<sup>18</sup> (see Blocks 1, 4, 8 and, possibly, 28). This form of headgear associates Nehemet-ꜥaway with Hathor, and seems to be one facet of the former's role as a solar deity, an aspect which is also reflected in some of the epithets which are ascribed to her, such as "Eye of Re"<sup>19</sup> (see Block

5). From the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty Nehemet-ꜥaway appears wearing the so-called "sistrum-crown" - another form of Hathorian headgear (see Blocks 1 & 4); this type of crown predominates among representations of Nehemet-ꜥaway in the Graeco-Roman period.<sup>20</sup>

Boylan<sup>21</sup> regards Nehemet-ꜥaway foremost as a form of Hathor, through her shared iconography and epithets. Her particular function is as a goddess of justice, in order for her to be a suitable consort for Thoth in his role as legislator and judge. Indeed, the function of Thoth as a god charged with assuring the transmission of royalty to Horus is reflected in Nehemet-ꜥaway's function as mother and protectress of the god Hor-nefer at Hermopolis-Bah;<sup>22</sup> one may also note the stress put on Nehemet-ꜥaway's role in transmitting kingship in the stela of Nectanebo I and the inscription of Petosiris.<sup>23</sup>

However, Nehemet-ꜥaway is not the only goddess found on the blocks from the Domitian Temple, or perhaps not the only form of the goddess to whom the temple was dedicated. Other attested goddesses include Hathor (Block 10, 2), ḥꜣty "the horizon-dweller"<sup>24</sup> (Block 9), Šꜣꜥꜣ "the primordial one"<sup>25</sup> (Blocks 10, 6 & 28, 1), Seshat<sup>26</sup> (Block 29, 2), Isis "Mistress of Šꜣy = sacred lake at El-Ashmunein (?)"<sup>27</sup> (Block 10, 7), "... who ties the fillet..."<sup>28</sup> (Block 11. 5) and Nut (or Naunet?) (Block 5). The question may be asked whether the Domitian Temple was dedicated solely to Nehemet-ꜥaway (with manifestations as Hathor, Seshat, etc.) or to several goddesses. One possible approach to this problem may be to examine other evidence for temples built for Nehemet-ꜥaway at El-Ashmunein.

### The Late Period Temple for Nehemet-ꜥaway

The most explicit sources of information regarding a temple built for Nehemet-ꜥaway at El-Ashmunein come from the Late Period; the foundation-stela of Nectanebo I<sup>29</sup> and the autobiographical inscription of Petosiris.<sup>30</sup> Although the possibility of edifices serving a cult of Nehemet-ꜥaway before this date may be inferred from the evidence of individuals bearing titles connected with the cult of Nehemet-ꜥaway at El-Ashmunein,<sup>31</sup> both the Nectanebo I stela and the Petosiris inscriptions provide detailed, though ambiguous, accounts of the construction of a building whose sole or partial function was to house the cult of Nehemet-ꜥaway at El-Ashmunein. However, both accounts leave a considerable amount of doubt as to the location, number and nature of such building(s).

Based on the evidence provided by the Nectanebo I stela, Roeder describes the temple of Nehemet-ꜥaway as a building measuring 60 cubits long by 30 cubits wide (approximately 31.50 metres by 15.75 metres<sup>32</sup>), a size allowing for several internal rooms. The facade consisted of a hall of sistrum-headed columns, presumably like that of the temple of Hathor at Denderah. The major structure of the interior seems to have been a *hꜣyr*,<sup>33</sup> a cloistered open court, behind which a transverse eight-columned hall preceded the sanctuary. Roeder suggests that there were two chapels which flanked the sanctuary, one for the eight primæval-deities (*Urgotter*), and one for Re. He also suggests that the connection between Nectanebo I's temple for Nehemet-ꜥaway and the structure erected by Petosiris is that the former was a poorly-formed edifice (built in a scant four-year period) of which the latter was a magnificent new re-building. However, this straightforward identification of Nectanebo I's building for

Nehemet-ꜥaway as being identical to that which was rebuilt by Petosiris is complicated by the uncertainty as to how many many buildings/deities are referred to by Petosiris. Part of the basis for this identification seems to be the evidence of Petosiris describing his reconstruction of buildings within the temple precincts at El-Ashmunein, which had fallen into disrepair during the second Persian occupation of Egypt. However, Lefebvre understood the same passage<sup>34</sup> to allude to two temples, one for Nehemet-ꜥaway, Spouse of Thoth, and her companion-goddess (*parèdre*) Wenut, and one for Hathor, Lady of the Southern Sycamore, and her companion-goddess Nehemet-ꜥaway "Royal Mother". Kessler<sup>35</sup> is similarly inclined to take this passage to refer to two chapels for Nehemet-ꜥaway at El-Ashmunein, one of which (that dedicated to Nehemet-ꜥaway "Royal Mother") is possibly to be equated with the structure originally erected by Nectanebo I.

Another edifice to have been constructed by Petosiris as part of the same building programme was the "Festive-Chapel (*Hbyt*) of the Goddesses". Roeder recognised the potential identification of the Nehemet-ꜥaway temple with this "Festive-Hall of the Goddesses" with its facade facing east.<sup>36</sup> However, he also seemed to think that the most likely place for the 'missing' Nehemet-ꜥaway temple would be on the eastern side of the Thoth Temple, perhaps in symmetry with the Amun Temple, i.e. with its facade facing west. This placing of the temple is based on the idea that the Nehemet-ꜥaway Temple was what the Domitian Temple has been suggested as being, a peripteral temple aligned on the cross-axis of the main Thoth-temple and beside the sacred lake which is likely to have been situated in this area.<sup>37</sup>

Parlebas<sup>38</sup> refers to Roeder's siting of the Nehemet-ꜥaway temple in the area to the east of the Temple of Thoth as a conjecture lacking proof. He identifies the Nehemet-ꜥaway temple with the "Festive-Hall of the Goddesses" mentioned by Petosiris, with its facade facing east. The implications of this identification would seem to be that if one imagines the Nehemet-ꜥaway temple as a peripteral temple facing the axis of the Thoth Temple, then the Nehemet-ꜥaway Temple should be sited to the west of that axis. However, it can be argued that there is no evidence for regarding the Nehemet-ꜥaway building as anything other than an independent chapel with no particular functional relationship to the other major monuments of the temple area at El-Ashmunein and, quite clearly, it might be sited virtually anywhere within the sacred precincts at El-Ashmunein.

A further possibility is that the Domitian Temple represents a re-building of the "Festive-Hall of the Goddesses", including chapel(s) for Nehemet-ꜥaway and for the other goddesses mentioned on the blocks from the Domitian Temple, who were all represented in the original Late Period edifice. None of these possibilities can be confirmed or rejected on the present state of the evidence.






### Titulary of Domitian

A number of the inscribed blocks from the temple bear the names of the Emperor Domitian, in the form of the titulary borne by a king of Egypt. Indeed, the high proportion of blocks which bear the titulary of Domitian may be a reflection of the role of Nehemet-ꜥaway as a goddess concerned with the ratification of kingship. The recognition of the names of Domitian in hieroglyphic texts, as distinct from the writings of those of other Roman emperors, is






complicated by various cryptographic writings of the basically phonetic *nomen*, and the local variants of the other epithet-based royal names. These problems have led to the hieroglyphically rendered name of Domitian being confused, for example, with those of Trajan<sup>39</sup> and Tiberius.<sup>40</sup> Blocks of Domitian found at El-Ashmunein include a block bearing his cartouche re-used in a wall in Roeder's excavations in Grabung VI,<sup>41</sup> and a limestone cornice fragment recovered from a pit of the Fifth Century AD in the British Museum Expedition's square B.12, near the Rameses II pylon of the Thoth Temple, in the 1984-85 season, which bears the cartouche *Hr-sʿ-ʿst mry-ntrw-nb(w)*.<sup>42</sup> A strict division of *prenomen/nomen* is not followed on the inscriptions from the Domitian Temple; the cartouche is used as a vehicle for the phonetic rendering of the various permutations of Domitianos/Germanikos/Sebastos.

The evidence from the Domitian Temple may be summarised as follows:-

**Nomen** - "Domitianos" with various spellings on Blocks 2, 3, 5, 6 and 21; "Domitianos *nty hw*" on Block 17 ( for *i3*); "Domitianos Germanikos(?)" on Block 1; "Domitianos Germanikos *nty hw*" on Block 25 (with damaged signs). The row of alternating cartouches on Block 16, both of which can be seen as variants of the *nomen* of Domitian, read "... Autokrator Kaisaros *nty hw*" (cartouches 1, 3, 5 & 7) and "[D]omitianos Sebastos Germanikos" (cartouches 2, 4 & 6). In these cartouches the signs <sup>43</sup> and <sup>44</sup> stand for *s*,  has the value *n*<sup>45</sup> and  has the value *k*.<sup>46</sup> Two pairs of cartouches flank a solar-disc on Block 38. These are badly damaged, but the surviving traces would suit the readings "Kaisaros" and "Domitianos".

**Prenomen/Throne-name** - The usual *prenomen* of Domitian is *Hr-sʿ-ʿst mry-ntrw-nb(w)*.<sup>47</sup> On this monument the *prenomen* given is *stp-n-Rʿ mry-ntrw-Bʿkt*,<sup>48</sup> with various spellings of *Bʿkt* on Blocks 3, 5, 6, 21, and a fragment on Block 31.

**Horus-name** - Several variants exist of the Horus-name of Domitian,<sup>49</sup> the most important element in the 'official' titulary of Roman emperors as Pharaoh.<sup>50</sup> On the present monument two possible versions of a Horus-name for Domitian appear. The first of these is *tmʿ-ʿ*, on Blocks 3 and 5; this epithet is a common element in the Horus-names of the Roman period, although usually found in aggregation with other epithets.<sup>51</sup> The other possible example of a Horus-name of Domitian consists of a number of broken signs in the upper part of a *serekh* in a register on Block 25. If the lowest of these signs is the last in the Horus-name (the block breaks below this sign), and this sign is  then the name may well be *hkʿ-kni*.<sup>52</sup> It is possible that the scant traces on the vertical register running from Block 4 to Block 6 may also be read in this way.

**Golden Horus-name** - The golden Horus-name of Domitian is not attested on any monuments found in Egypt. The Beneventum obelisk gives the golden Horus-name *wsr-rnpwt ʿʿ-nhtw*.<sup>53</sup> Block 7 bears the depiction of a Horus on a *nwb*-sign, beneath which are the top parts of the signs  and  allowing the possibility that *wsr-rnpwt* was used on this monument as the golden Horus-name of Domitian.

**Nebty/Two Ladies-name** - None known for Domitian from Egypt.<sup>54</sup> It seems that the *nebty*-name was attested at least once on the present monument, in the now-missing left-hand corner of Block 6.

### **The Date of Destruction of the Temple**

The scarcity of sacral structures which have survived from the Graeco-Roman period at El-Ashmunein is striking, especially when one considers the importance of the site at that time. The most substantial of these monuments to survive into the modern era, the Great Portico of the Temple of Thoth, was destroyed in 1826 to provide building materials.<sup>55</sup> This practice had a long history at the site<sup>56</sup> and the suggestion has been made that the present state of the Domitian Temple is at least partly due to its being quarried away,<sup>57</sup> either for its ready-cut blocks or as raw material for the lime kilns.<sup>58</sup>

Archaeological evidence as to the date of the destruction of the Domitian Temple is to be found in the sherds of "Hermopolite Type B" amphorae<sup>59</sup> which can be seen in the section of the trench overlying the temple destruction level. If these sherds have not been re-deposited from another part of the site at a later date, they would seem to indicate that the Domitian Temple had already been destroyed by the Sixth Century AD.

The reason for its destruction may simply have been one of expediency in cannibalising a building which had already ceased its active function. It may be, however, that the temple fell victim to the active suppression of pagan shrines in the Fifth Century, either as a result of the official measures culminating in the Mandate of Theodosius II and Valentinian III in AD 435,<sup>60</sup> or the activities of Shenoute in the Hermopolite Nome.<sup>61</sup> However, one must beware of linking the destruction of all pagan monuments to the iconoclastic activities of "the Copts" especially when, as is the case here at El-Ashmunein, there is clear evidence of a powerful pragmatic reason for their destruction.<sup>62</sup>



## TEXT NOTES

*Ash. (1980)* = Bailey, D.M., W.V.Davies & A.J.Spencer (1982) *Ashmunein (1980)*.

*Ash. (1981)* = Spencer, A.J. & D.M. Bailey (1982) *Ashmunein (1981)*.

*Ash. (1982)* = Spencer, A.J., D.M.Bailey & A.Burnett (1983) *Ashmunein (1982)*.

*Ash. (1984)* = Spencer, A.J. & D.M. Bailey (1985) *Ashmunein (1984)*.

- (1) *Ash. (1980)*.
- (2) *Ibid.*, 5.
- (3) *Ibid.*, pls. 3a & 20a; pl.19. These blocks are published in this volume as, respectively, Blocks 21 and 16.
- (4) For its position see the large-scale plan of the site published in Spencer, A.J. (1983) *Excavations at El-Ashmunein I: The Topography of the Site*. The approximate position is marked as "19" on the plan of El-Ashmunein provided by Kessler, D. (1976-77) "Hermupolis Magna" in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* II, 1139, although Kessler's tentative attribution of the temple to Claudius (*ibid.*, n.62) may now be amended.
- (5) For references to Abu Bakr's excavations at El-Ashmunein, see *Ash. (1980)*, 8-9.
- (6) "einer Stelle etwa 150 m südöstlich von den Säulen des Thot-Tempels" Roeder, G. (1959) *Hermopolis 1929-1939*, 31 (Kap.II, s.35e).
- (7) Golvin, J-C & J. Larronde (1982) "Etude des procédés de construction dans l'Egypte ancienne I: L'édification des murs de grès en grand appareil à l'Epoque Romaine" *ASAE* 68, 165-190.
- (8) For such lines marking the placement of blocks see *ibid.*, 178.
- (9) Such is the situation at, for example, the temple at Shanhur, constructed during the reign of Augustus and later emperors (see Traunecker, C. (1984) "Shanhur" in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* V, 528-531).
- (10) Parlebas, J. (1984) *Die Göttin Nehmet-Awaj*, 6 & Table 1.
- (11) *Ibid.*, 100.
- (12) *Ibid.*, 117.
- (13) *Ibid.*, 109. This epithet may appear on the broken column of text underneath the name of Nehemet-<sup>c</sup>away on Block 6.
- (14) Zivie, A-P (1982) "Nehemet-Awai" in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* IV, 390-392; Zivie, A-P (1975) *Hermopolis et le nome de l'ibis*, 208, 235-6 & 245.
- (15) Summarised in Parlebas *ibid.*, 22ff.
- (16) Zivie (1975), 56.
- (17) Parlebas *ibid.*, 22.

- (18) *Ibid.*, 32.
- (19) *Ibid.*, 106. For the solar aspects of Nehemet-ꜥaway see Zivie (1975), 235-236.
- (20) Parlebas *ibid.*, 33-34 & Table 4.
- (21) Boylan, P. (1922) *Thoth, the Hermes of Egypt*, 208-209.
- (22) Zivie (1982), 390.
- (23) For the former see Roeder, G. (1954) "Zwei hieroglyphische Inschriften aus Hermopolis" *ASAE* 52, 383 & 390-391. For the epithet of Nehemet-ꜥaway "Mother of the King"/"Royal Mother" in the latter see Lefebvre, G. (1923-4) *Le Tombeau de Petosiris I: Description*, 102; Roeder (*ibid.*, 434) and Otto (Otto, E. (1954) *Die Biographischen Inschriften der Ägyptischen Spätzeit*, 178). Lichtheim, M. (1980) "Four Inscriptions from the Tomb of Petosiris" *Ancient Egyptian Literature III : The Late Period*, 47 would amend to "Mother of the god".
- (24) A Hathorian epithet - see Husson, C. (1977) *L'offrande du miroir dans les temples égyptiens de l'époque gréco-romaine*, 82, n.5.
- (25) Another epithet applied to Hathor - *ibid.*, 182, n.14.
- (26) For the association of Hathor/Nehemet-ꜥaway/Seshat see Boylan *ibid.*, 209.
- (27) For the sacred lake at El-Ashmunein see Gessler-Löhr, B. (1983) *Die heiligen Seen ägyptischer Tempel*, 241-256.
- (28) *Wörterbuch.* II, 189.
- (29) Roeder *ibid.*, 431-435.
- (30) The passage concerned is Lefebvre *ibid.*
- (31) Parlebas *ibid.*, 49-50.
- (32) Based on a cubit of 525mm - for the length of a cubit during the Late Period see Reineke, W.F. (1963) "Der Zusammenhang der altägyptischen Höhl- und Langenmasse" *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* 9, 145-163.
- (33) Spencer, P. (1984) *The Egyptian Temple: a Lexicographical Study*, 155-161.
- (34) Lefebvre, G. (1921) "Textes du Tombeau de Petosiris" *ASAE* 21, 233-234.
- (35) Kessler *ibid.*, 1141 & n.103.
- (36) Roeder (1959), 39 (Kap.II s.43c).
- (37) *Ash.* (1980), 1. For a possible reference to the sacred lake see Block 10, 7 and note 27, above.
- (38) Parlebas *ibid.*, 48.
- (39) Sauneron, S (1953) "Trajan ou Domitien?" *BIFAO* 53, 49-52.
- (40) Roeder (1959), 301 & Tf. 67 e-f.
- (41) *Ibid.*

- (42) Ash. (1984), 9 & fig. 12,5, object 1984/20.
- (43) Sauneron, S. (1982) *Esna VIII: L'écriture figurative dans les textes d'Esna*, 194.
- (44) *Ibid.*, 161-162.
- (45) *Ibid.*, 172.
- (46) *Ibid.*, 174.
- (47) von Beckerath, J. (1984) *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, 125 & 300.
- (48) *mry-ntrw-Bꜣkt* is also found in, e.g., the golden Horus-name of Ptolemy XII - von Beckerath *ibid.*, 121 & 294.
- (49) See Grenier, J-C (1987) "Le protocole Pharaonique des Empereurs Romains" *Revue d'Egyptologie* 38, 85.
- (50) *Ibid.*, 86.
- (51) *Ibid.*, 86 & 92.
- (52) This also being the Horus-name of Alexander I - von Beckerath *ibid.*, 117 & 285.
- (53) For the Beneventum obelisk see Grenier *ibid.*, 82, n.2.
- (54) *Ibid.*
- (55) Snape, S. & D.Bailey (1988) *The Great Portico at Hermopolis Magna: Present State and Past Prospects*.
- (56) For just one example from the Roman period, see the cornice bearing a cartouche of Vespasian re-used in a later wall in Ash. (1982), 15 & 91, fig. 29.2.
- (57) Ash. (1980), 5.
- (58) The impression is that the limestone structures in the sacred area at El-Ashmunein became the targets of a large-scale lime-burning operation from at least as early as the Fifth Century AD- see Ash. (1984), 2-3 & 62, fig. 3.
- (59) Ash. (1981), 16-20 & 43-44, figs. 4-5. The examples seen at the Domitian Temple were of the round-shouldered, long-necked type, probably to be dated in the range AD 400-550 - see Ash. (1984), 25.
- (60) Coleman-Norton, P.R. (1966) *Roman State and Christian Church* II, 705.
- (61) Kakosy, L. (1984) "Das Ende des Heidentums in Ägypten" in Nagel, P. (ed.) *Graeco-Coptica*, 69-70.
- (62) For a defence of the Copts as purported destroyers of pagan temples, see Habachi, L. (1979) "Les Coptes sont-ils responsables de la destruction des temples pharaoniques?" in *Le Monde Copte* 6, 15-19. For both this and the preceding reference I am grateful to Professor A.F.Shore.

## DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES

All the facsimile copies are taken from limestone blocks decorated with sunk relief.

### Plate 1

- (1) Portion (c.1/2) of a semi-circular column-drum of the smaller series, possibly conjoining with Blocks 2 & 3.
- (2) Portion (c.1/2) of a semi-circular column-drum of the smaller series, possibly conjoining with Block 1.
- (3) Portion (c.1/2) of a semi-circular column-drum of the smaller series, possibly conjoining with Block 1.

### Plate 2

- (4) Semi-circular column-drum of the smaller series, possibly conjoining with Blocks 5 & 6.
- (5) Semi-circular column-drum of the smaller series, possibly conjoining with Blocks 4 & 6.
- (6) Semi-circular column-drum of the smaller series, possibly conjoining with Blocks 4 & 5. About a third of the face is missing, on the right-hand side.

### Plate 3

- (7) Portion (c.1/2) of a semi-circular column-drum of the smaller series.
- (8) Portion (c.1/2) of a semi-circular column-drum of the smaller series.
- (9) A portion (c.1/2) of a semi-circular column-drum of the smaller series. Largely uncopyable due to its being trapped beneath overlying blocks.

### Plate 4

- (10) A substantial portion of a semi-circular column-drum of the larger series, bearing ten vertical registers of visible text, but inaccessible on its buried left-hand side.

### Plate 5

- (11) The shattered fragment of a semi-circular column-drum of the larger series, most of which is trapped beneath other large blocks (including Block 12), and therefore inaccessible on its right- and left-hand edges.

### Plate 6

- (12) A large fragment of a semi-circular column-drum of the larger series, the right-hand portion of which is buried and inaccessible. The interiors of some of the hieroglyphs show traces of blue paint.
- (13) Portion (c.2/3) of a semi-circular column-drum of the larger series, broken and worn.

Plate 7

- (14) Fragment of a semi-circular column-drum of the larger series, part of which projects above ground-level, bearing vertical registers of text.
- (15) Fragment (c.1/3) of a semi-circular column-drum of the larger series, badly worn and abraded.

Plate 8

- (16) Broken block (roofing-slab ?) sinking into the ground/water. At least 60 cm thick. Some traces of colour are visible - a yellow ground within the cartouches and red in the *nwb* - signs. See also Plate 19b.
- (17) Very large block (architrave ?) sinking into the ground/water. The inscribed portion is the edge of a block 130 cm thick and, with the fragment to the north of it, originally 4 metres in length.

Plate 9

- (18) Block (lintel ?) 74 cm thick, with torus-roll projecting 5 cm.
- (19) Very worn and damaged block, 37 cm thick.
- (20) Door-jamb (?) 37 cm thick, abraded.

Plate 10

- (21) Very large flat-faced block, at least 75 cm thick, with surface damage, some of which is probably deliberate (i.e. that on the heads of the two figures).

Plate 11

- (22) Flat-faced block at least 20 cm thick (runs down into water), worn and abraded.
- (23) At least 1 metre wide (runs beneath another block) and at least 40 cm thick.
- (24) Fine limestone block 47 cm thick, running down into the ground/water to its left. The strikingly different quality of limestone and carving probably indicates that it was not part of the Domitian structure.

Plate 12

- (25) Abraded flat-faced block, 34 cm thick.
- (26) Flat-faced block of uncertain thickness, with torus-roll. Runs into ground/water.
- (27) A very badly damaged block with a good deal of salt efflorescence on its surface. The left-hand portion of the face is recessed 4.5 cm, perhaps indicating that this block was originally part of a door-jamb.

Plate 13

- (28) Flat-faced block at least 35 cm thick, running into ground/water.
- (29) Broken block with good surface, 55 cm thick.
- (30) Very worn flat-faced block, 75 cm thick.

- (31) Block 84 cm thick, running into the ground/water on its left.
- (32) Flat-faced block at least 37 cm thick, running into the ground/water at its bottom edge.

Plate 14

- (33) Flat-faced block of uncertain thickness, somewhat worn.
- (34) Block 40 cm thick, with pitted surface. Found among the stack of inscribed blocks which have been collected together near the Basilica (therefore not on the plan of the Temple), but the quality of the stone and its carving are identical to those from the Domitian structure.
- (35) Concave-faced block, curving from top to bottom. 40 cm thick and conjoining with Block 36.
- (36) Concave-faced block, curving from top to bottom. 40 cm thick and conjoining with Block 35.

Plate 15

- (37) Very worn block, in secondary usage, 90 cm thick.
- (38) Badly corroded block of uncertain thickness.

Plate 16

- (39) A badly worn and abraded fragment, at least 22 cm thick.
- (40) Four fragments, found under Block 10.

Plate 17

Plan of the Domitian Temple.

Plate 18a

View of the temple remains from the south-west.

Plate 18b

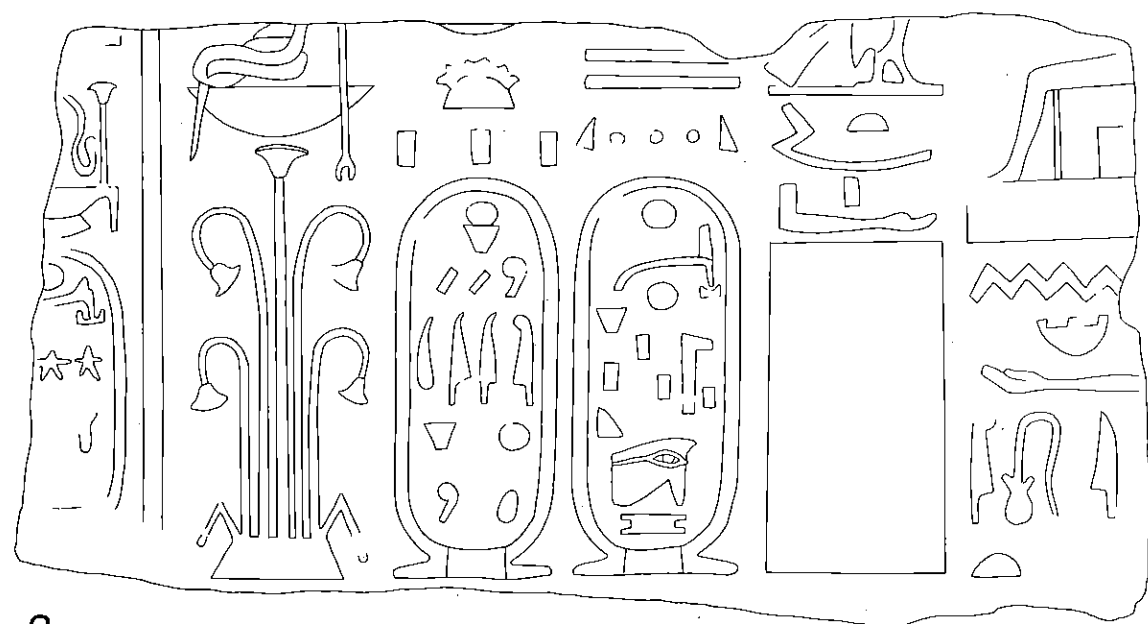
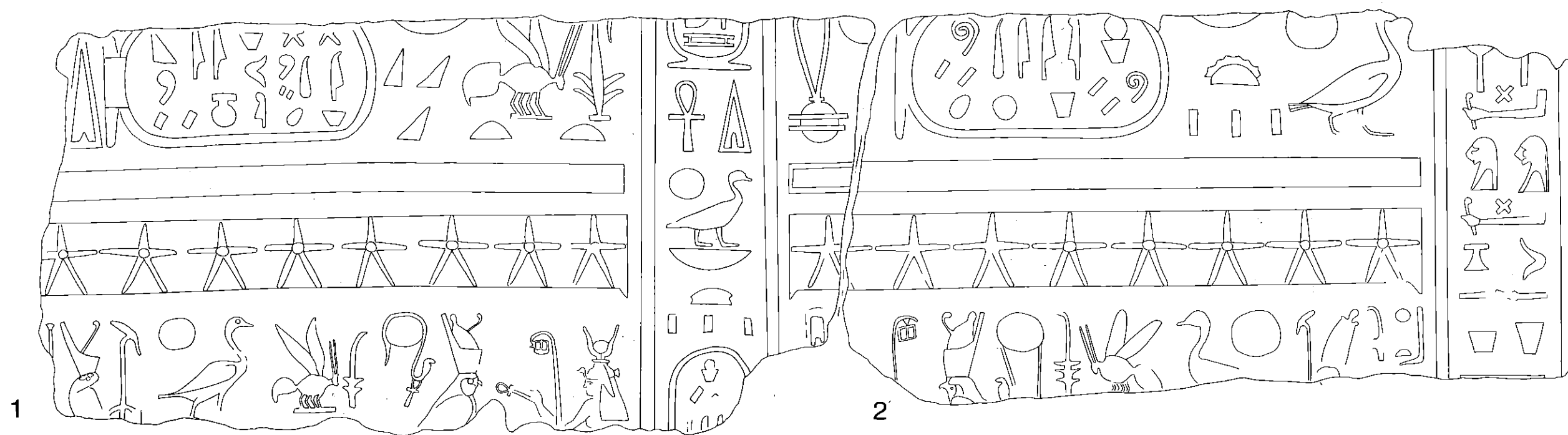
View of the southern and central parts of the temple remains, from the south-east corner of the trench (Photo D.M. Bailey).

Plate 19a

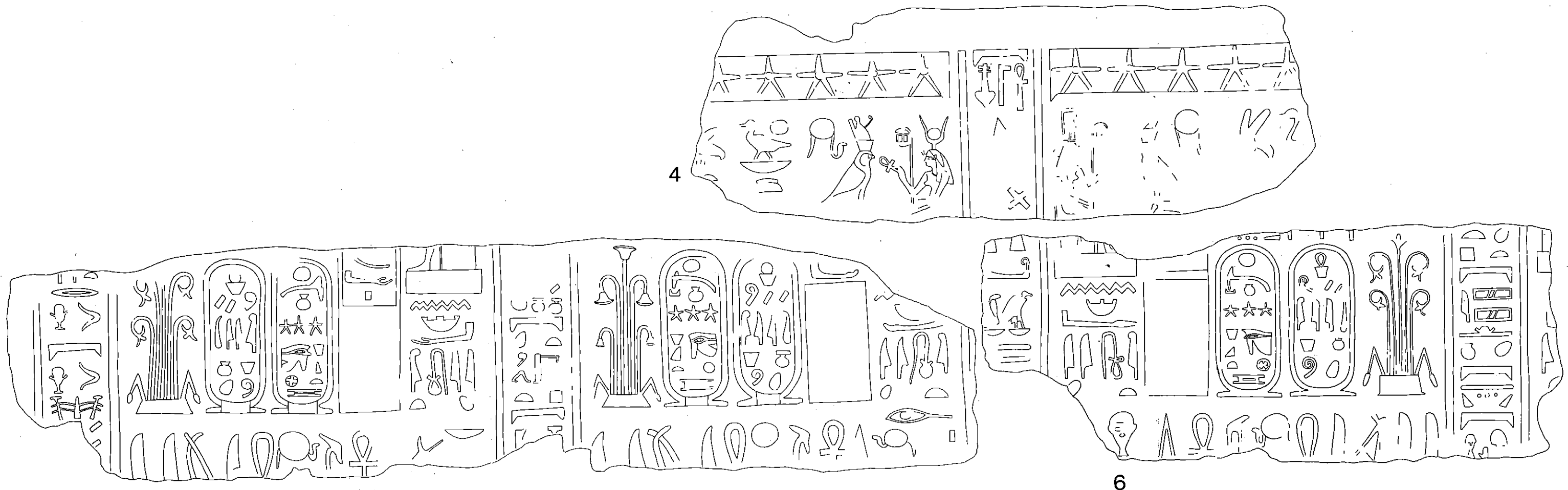
View of the northern wall, from the north-east.

Plate 19b

Block 16 lying *in situ*.



3



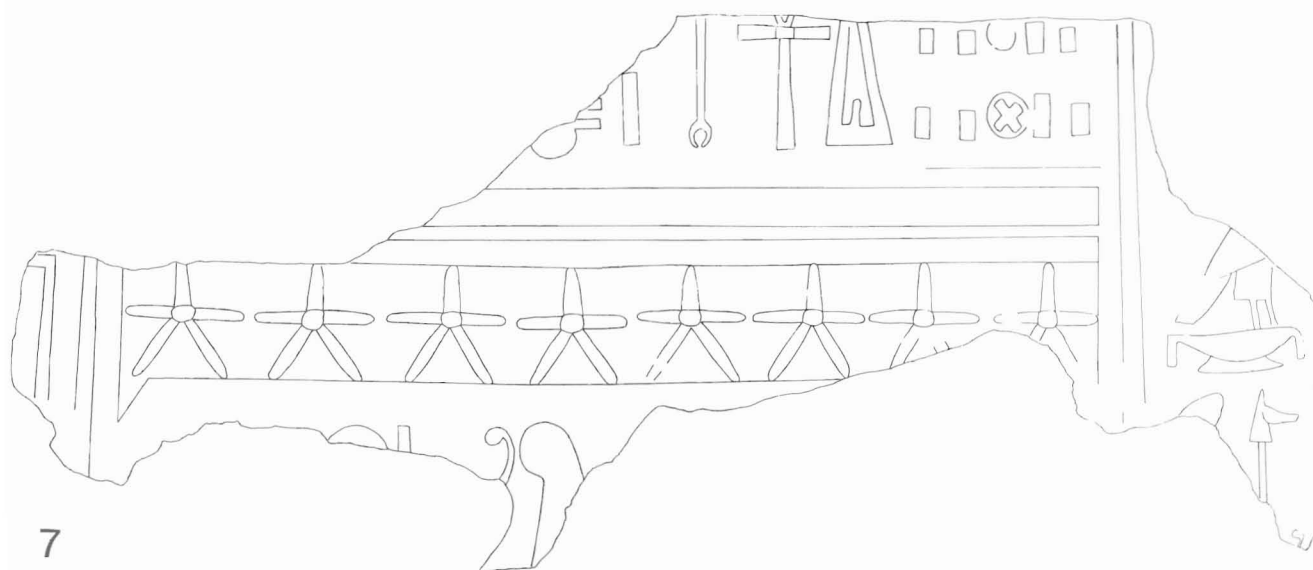
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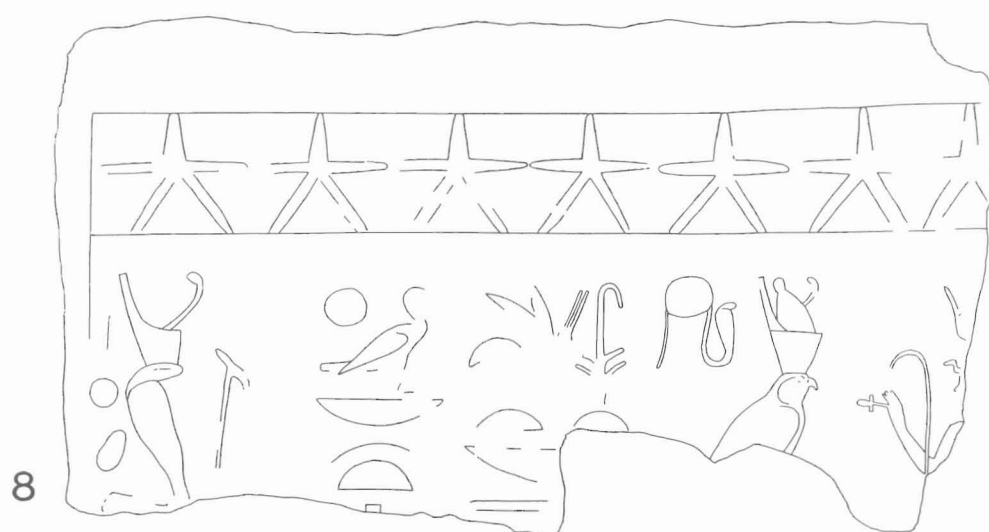
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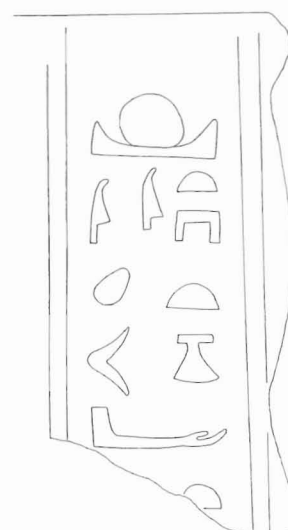




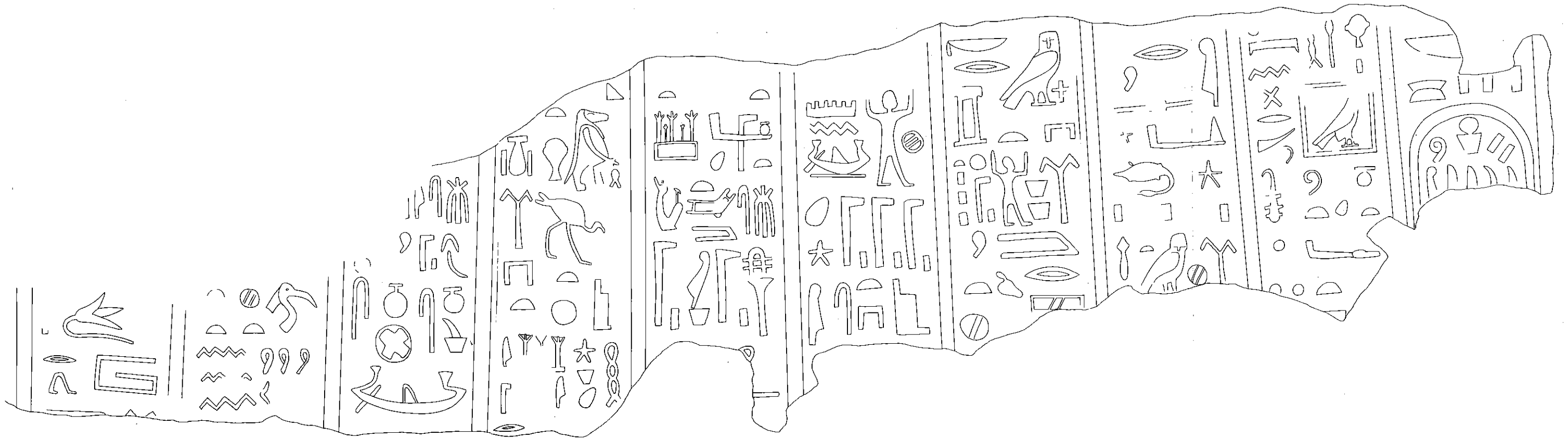
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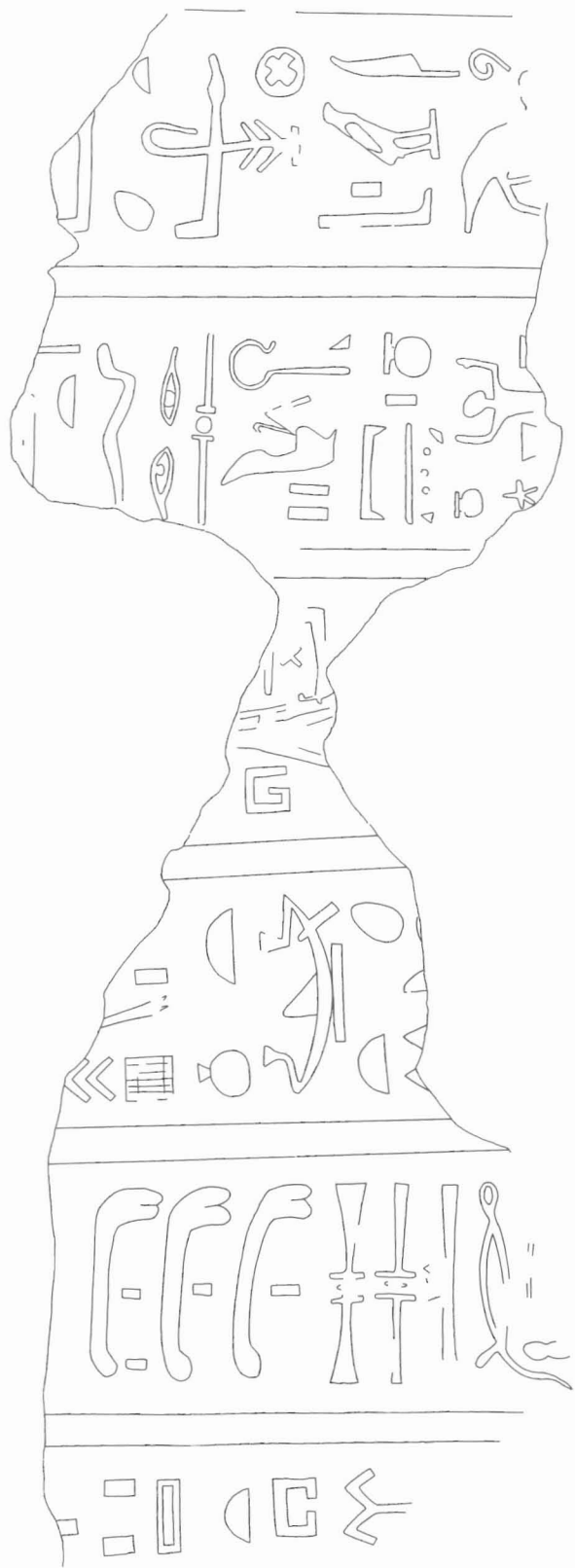


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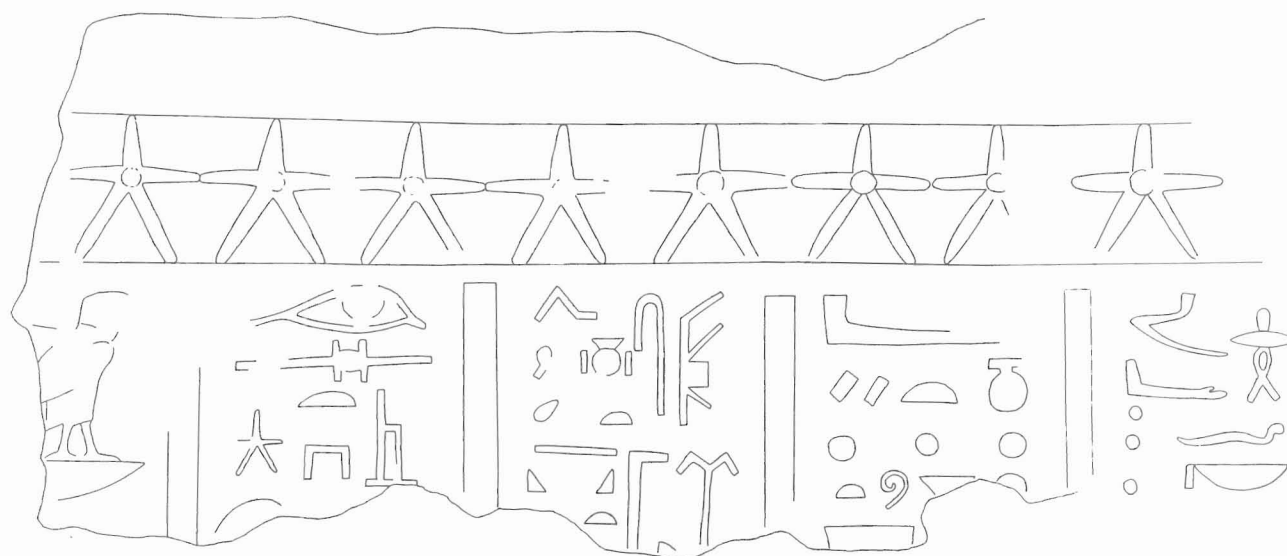


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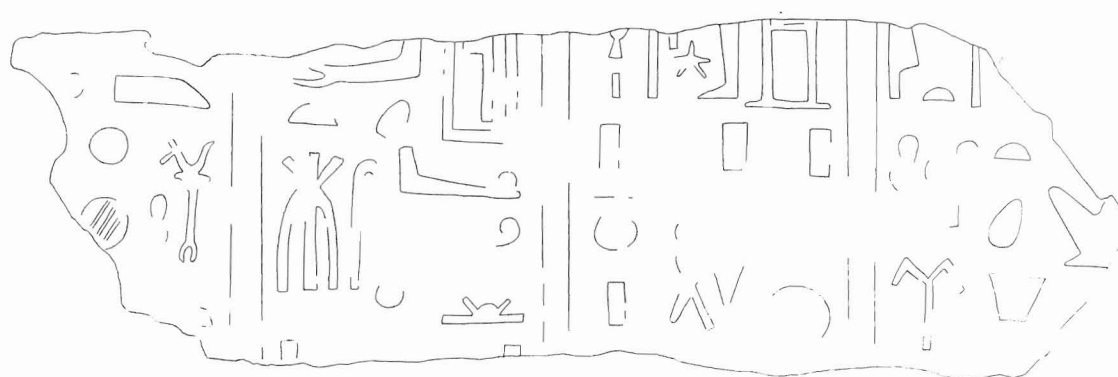
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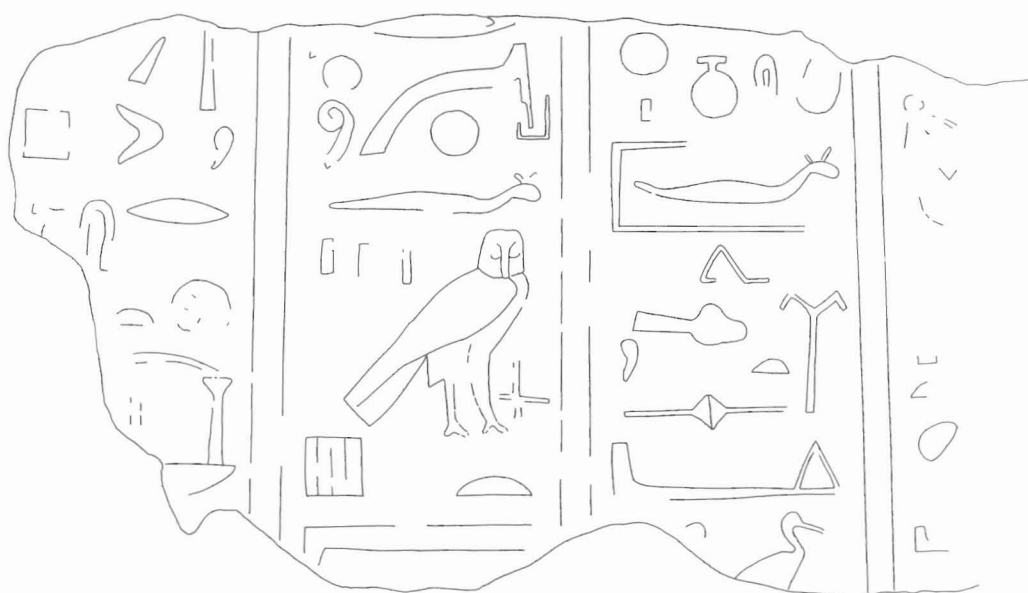
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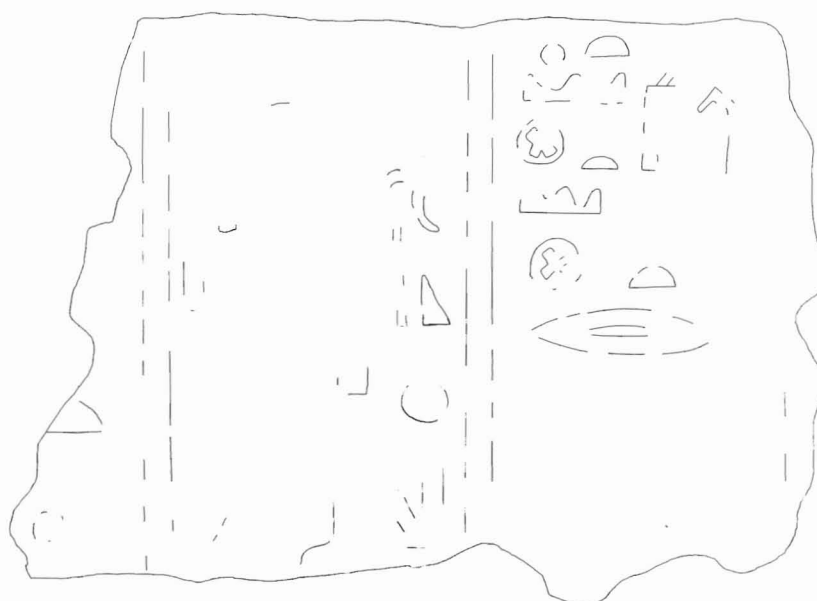
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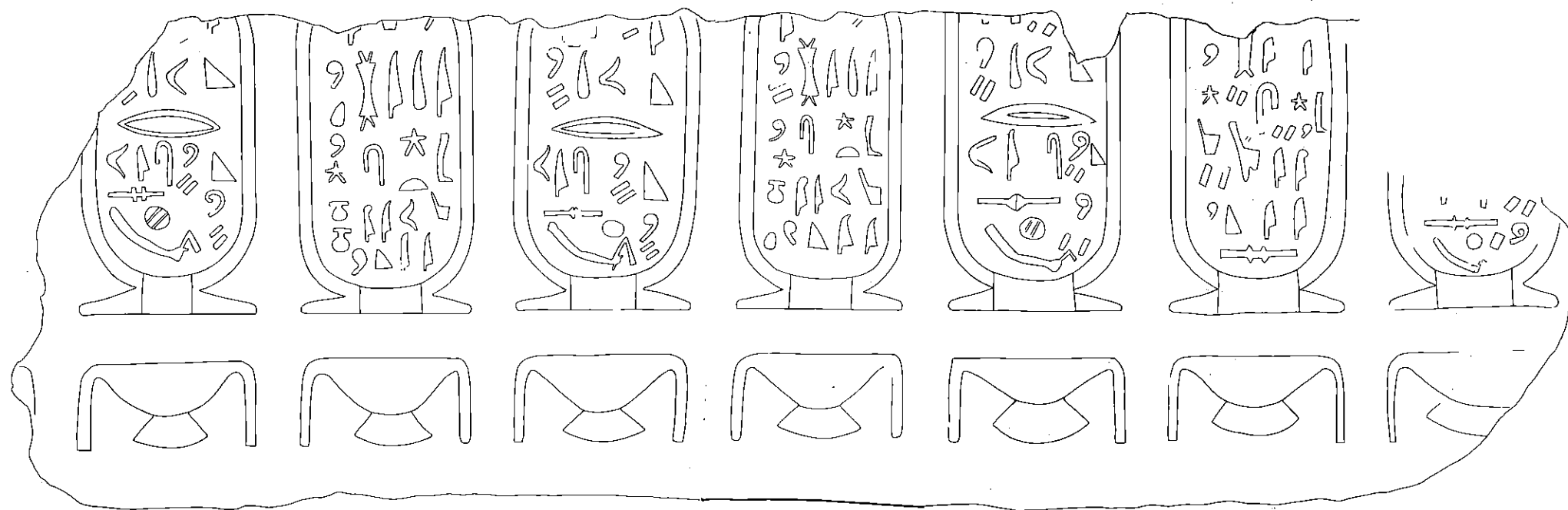
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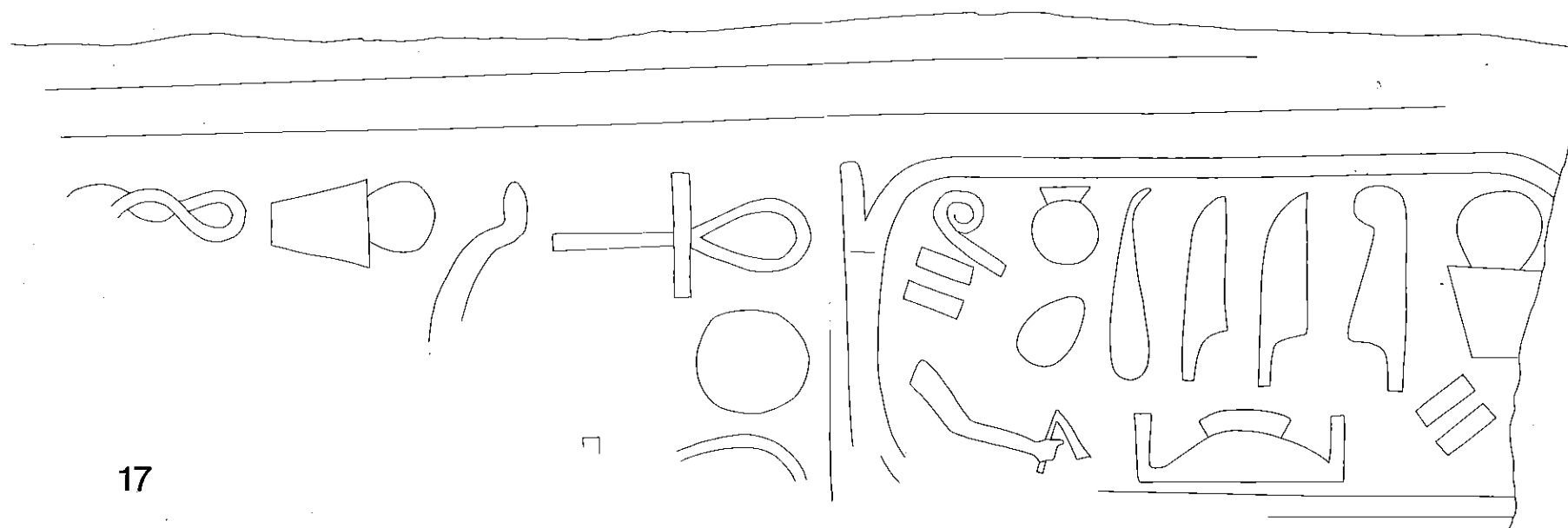
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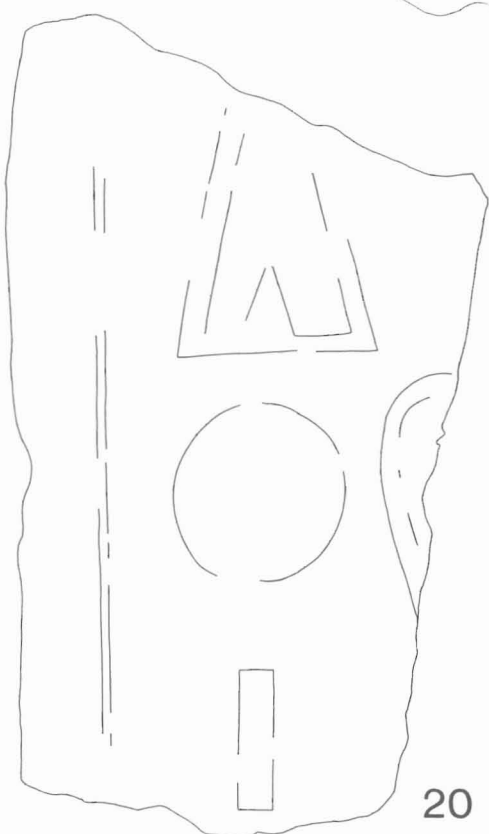
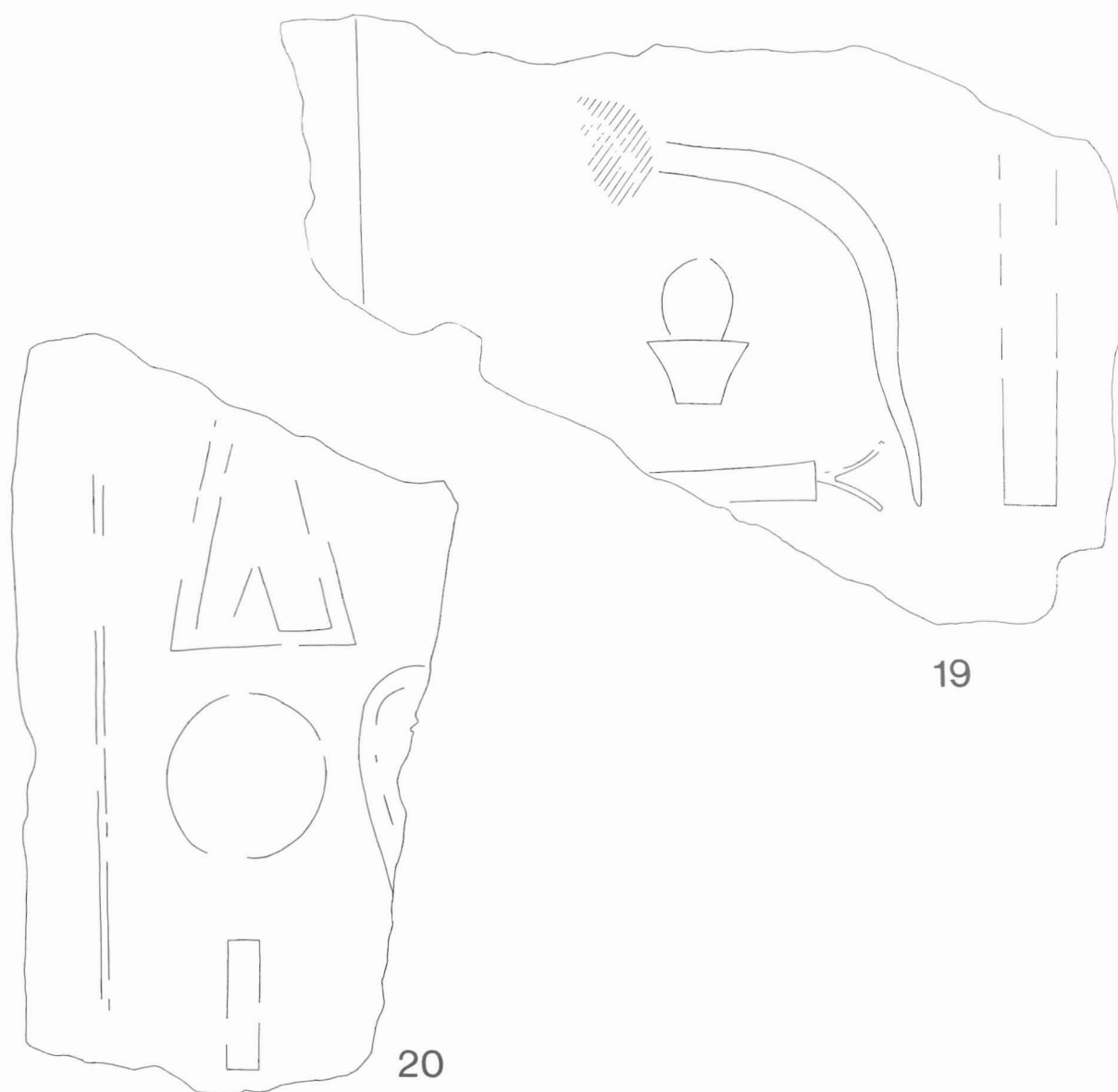
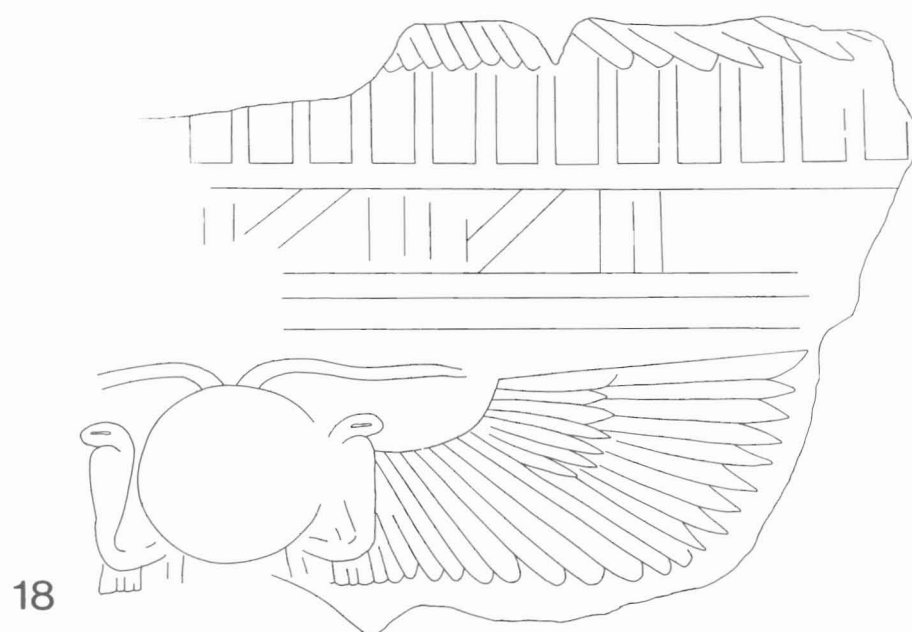
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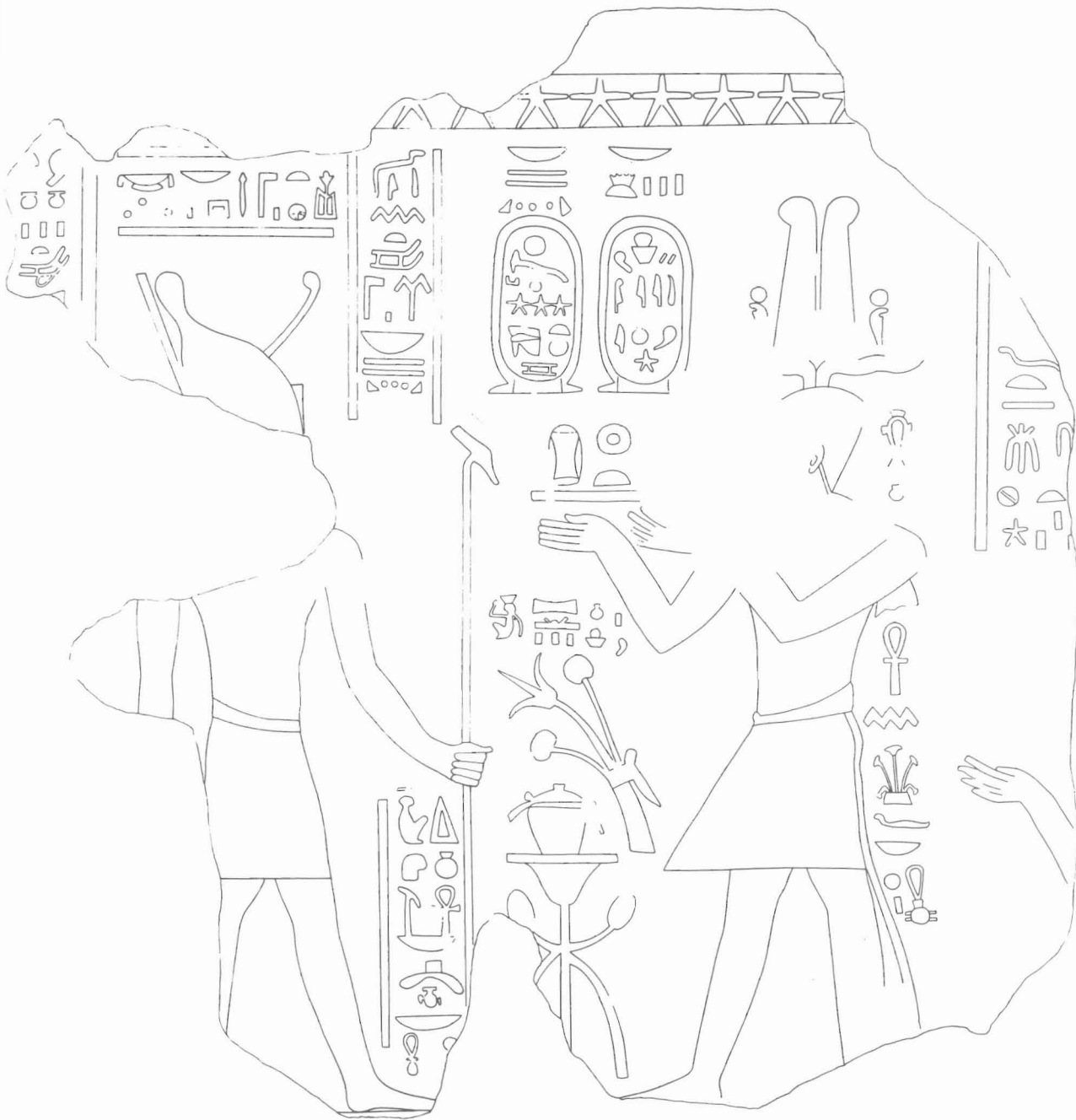


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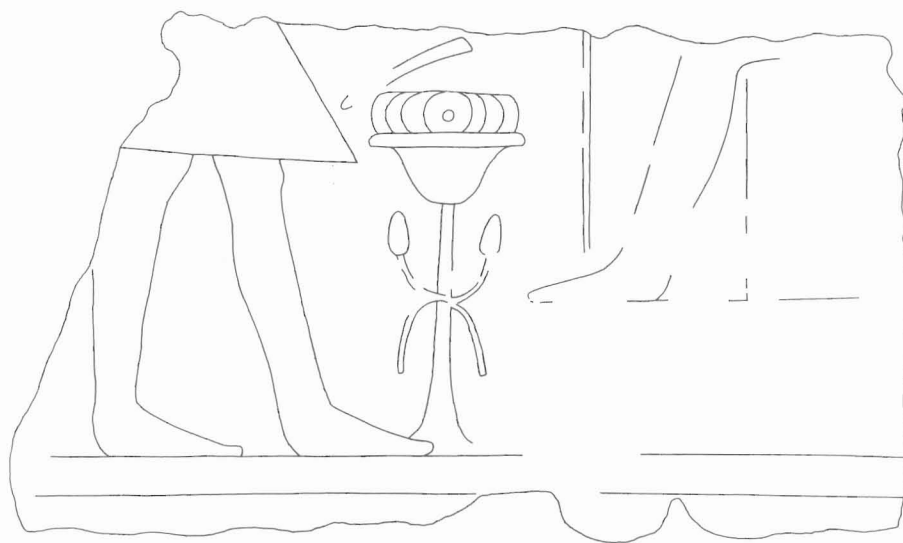
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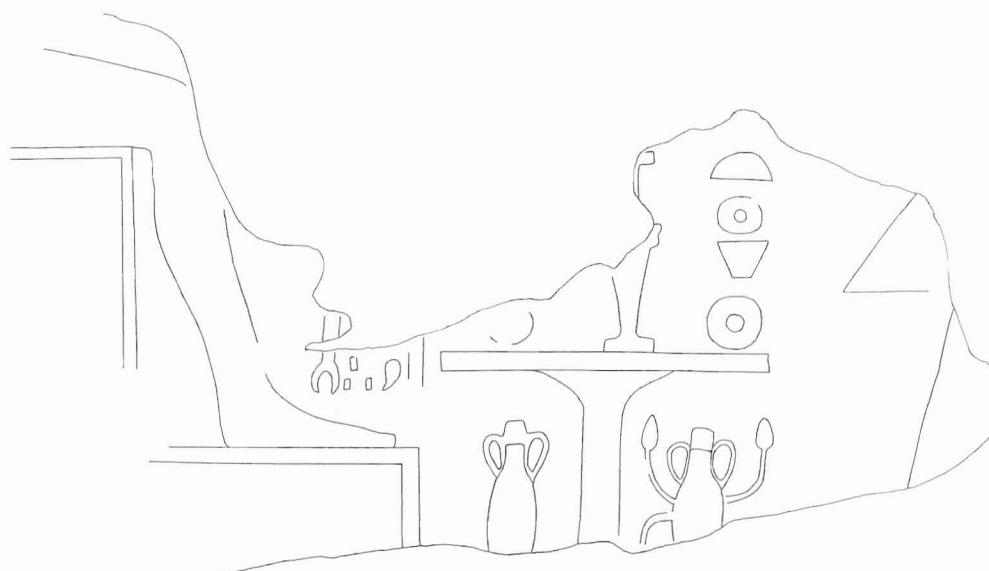


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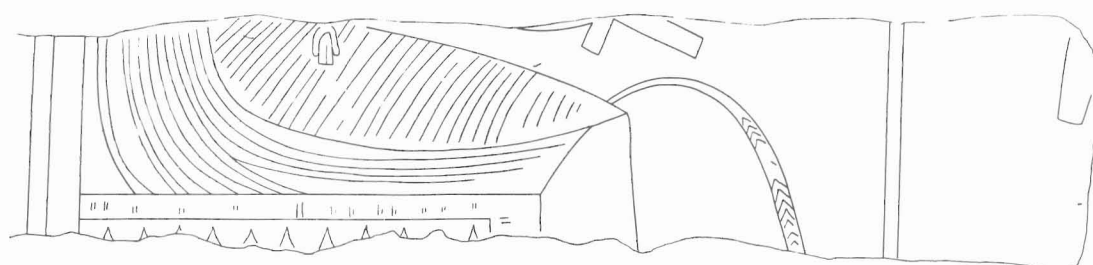




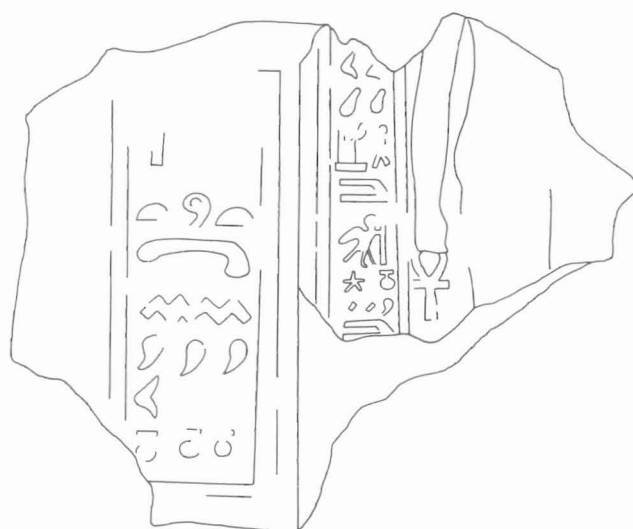
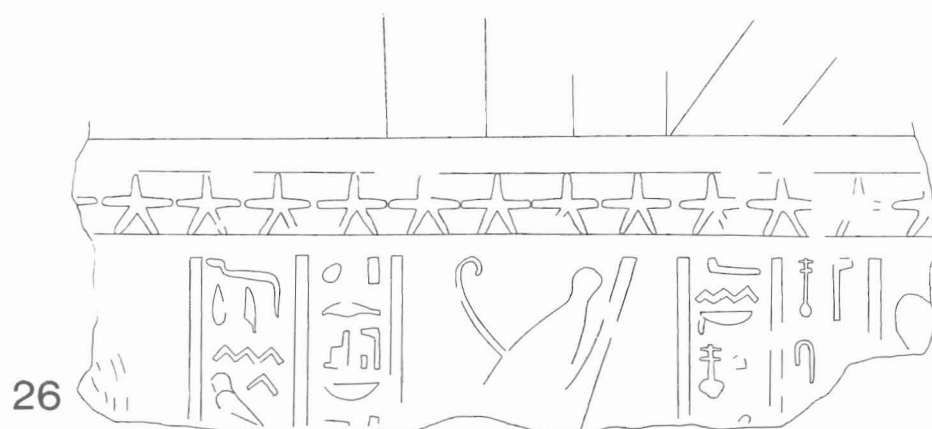
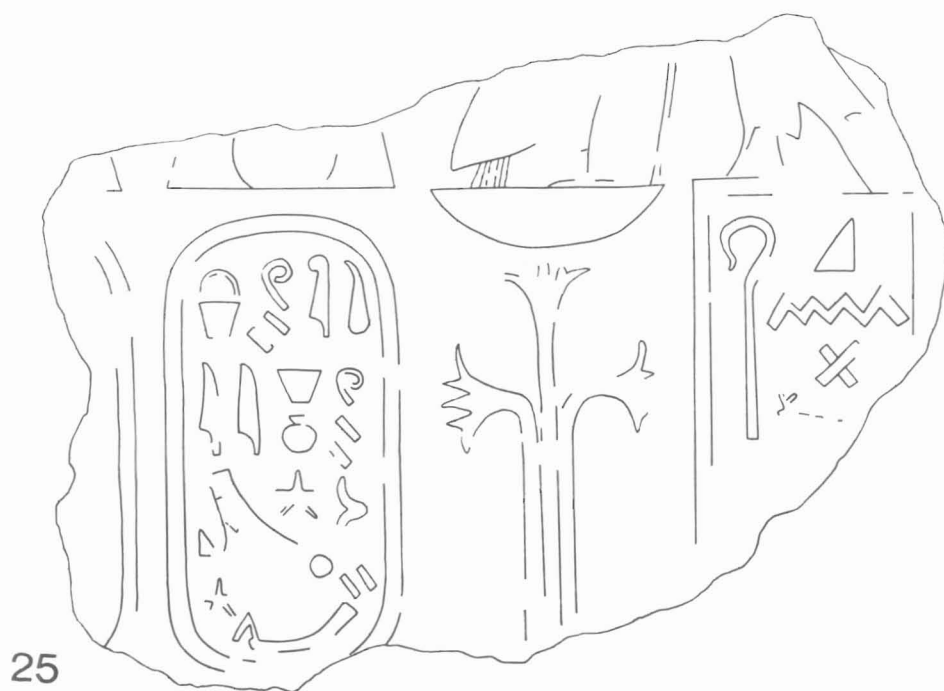
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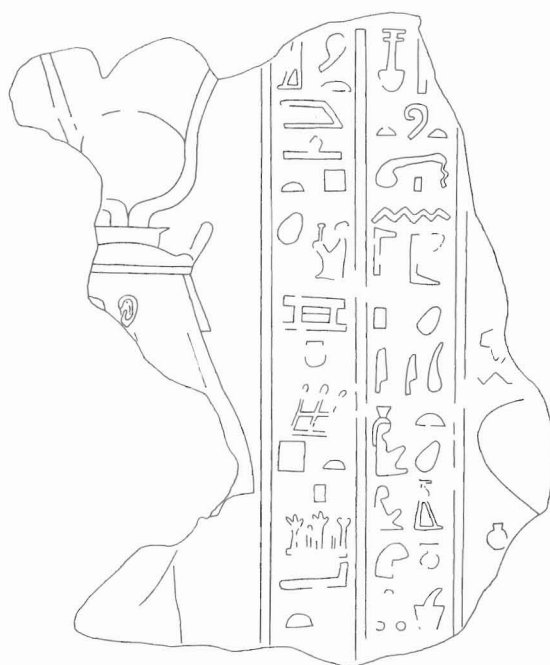


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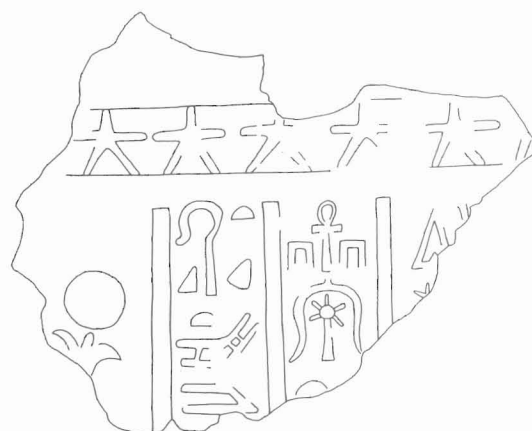


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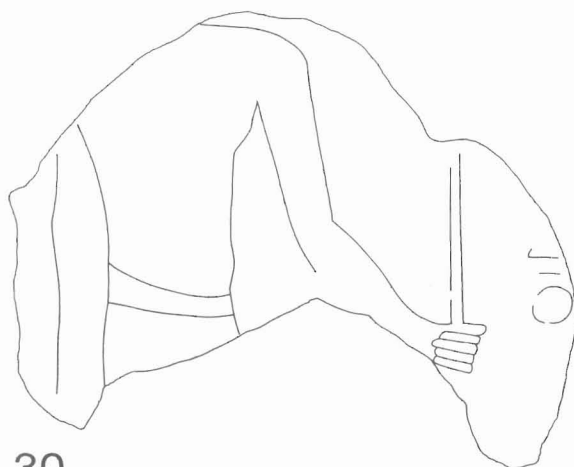




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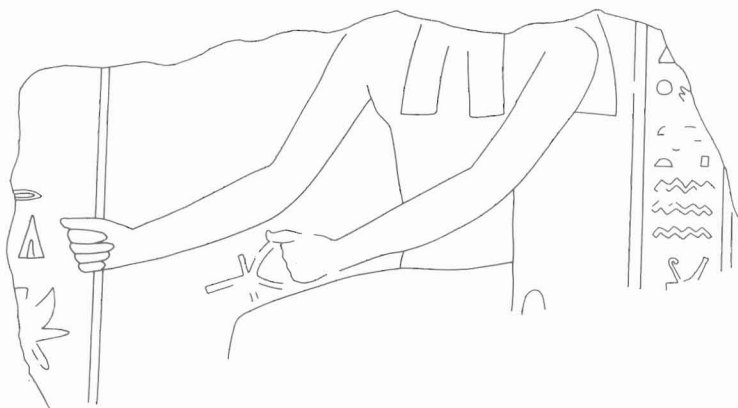
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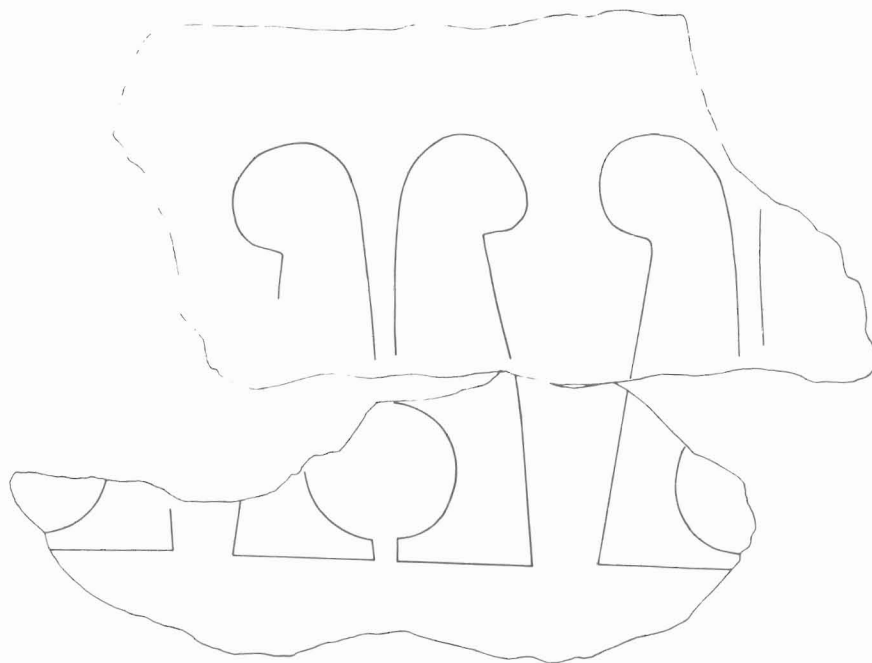
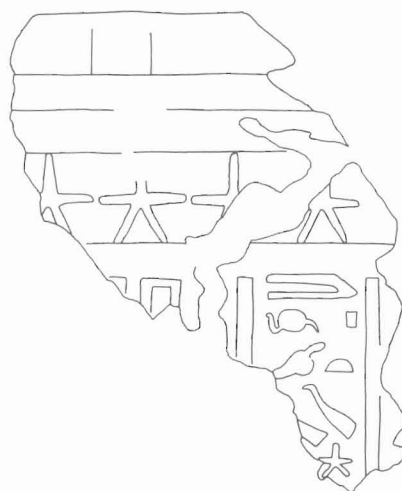


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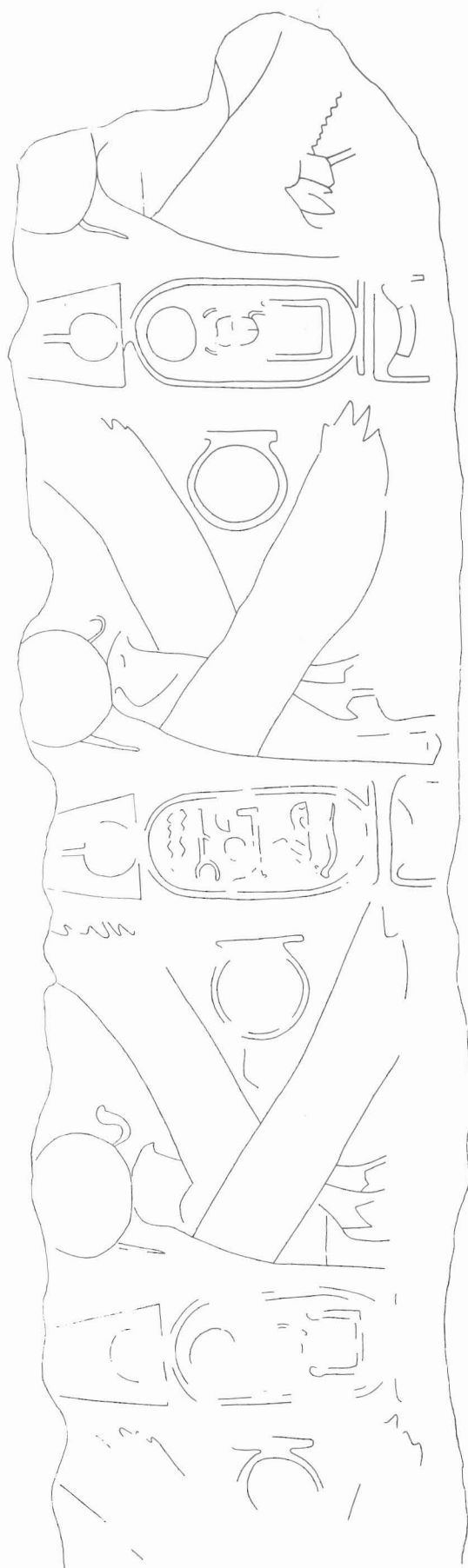
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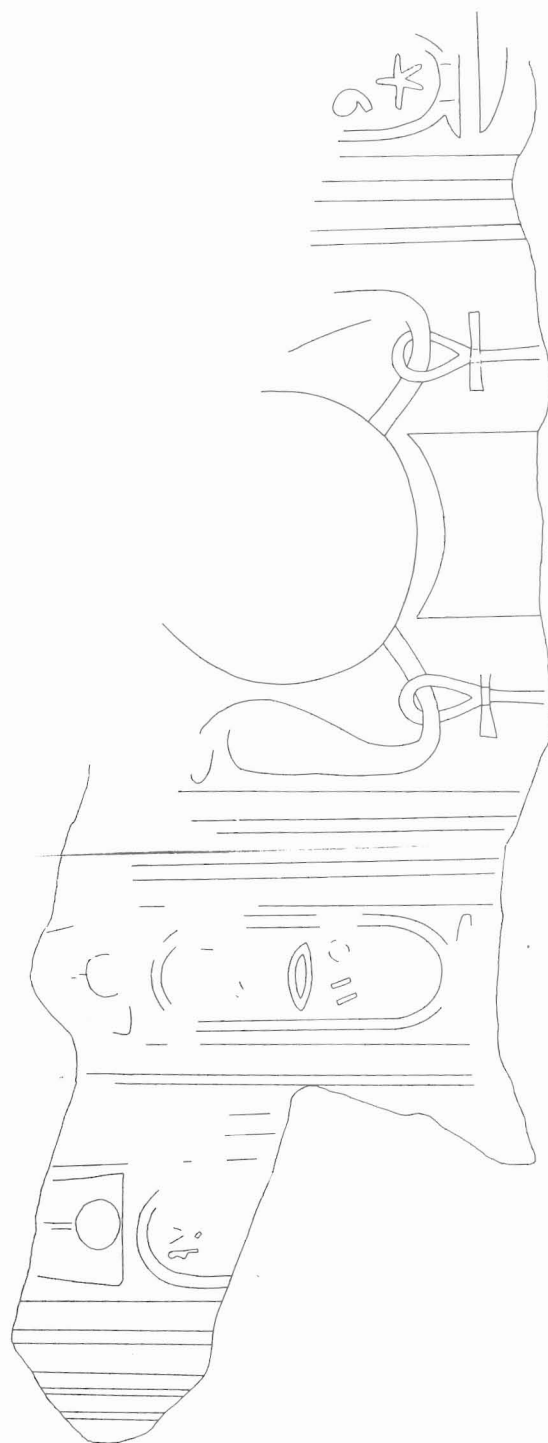
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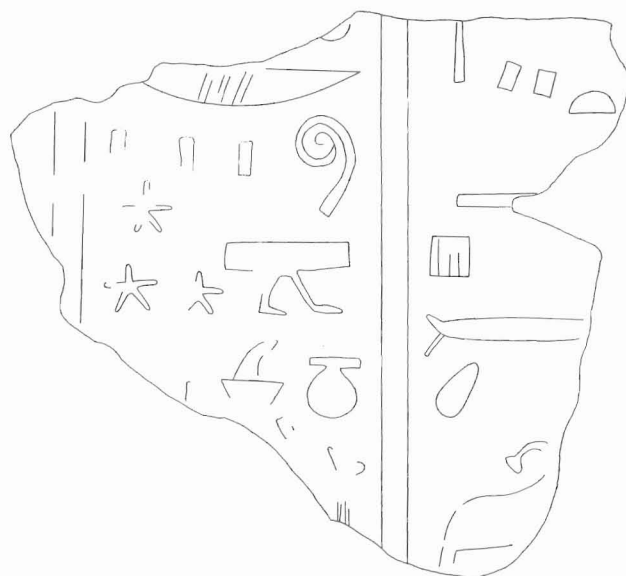
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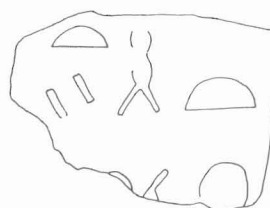
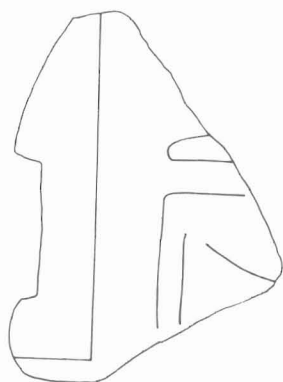
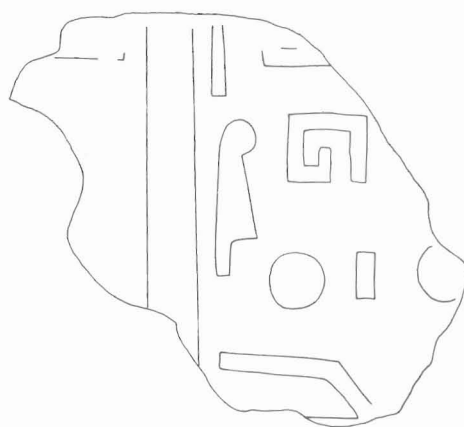
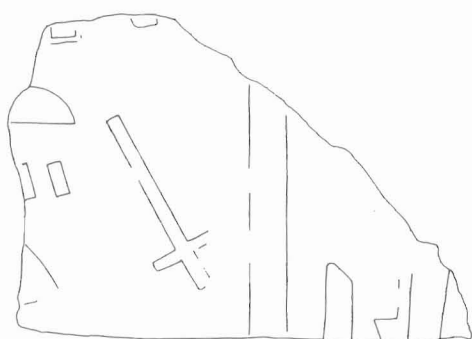
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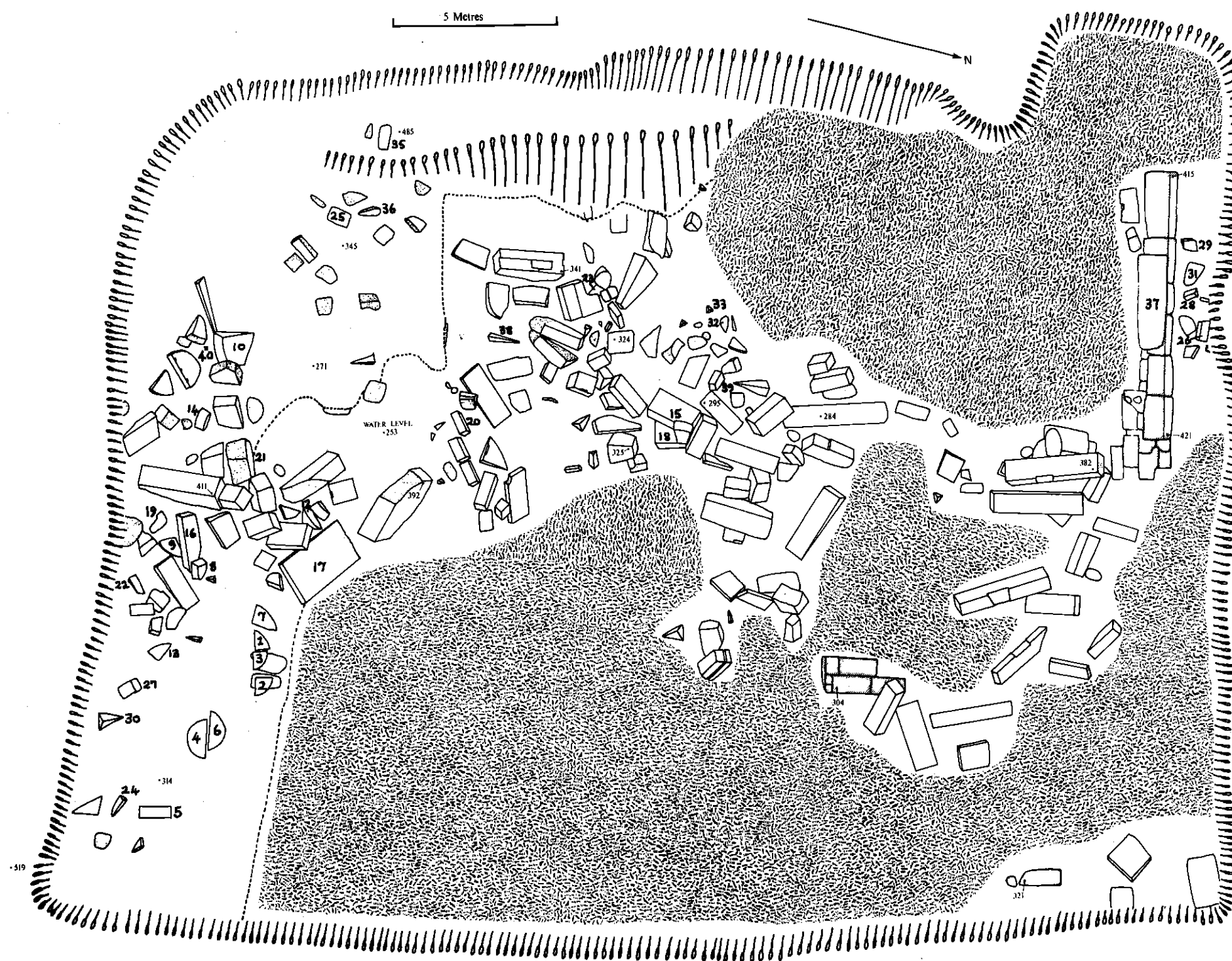
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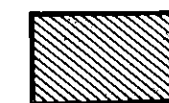
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Reeds



Broken faces of blocks

*In situ* masonry

The thick dotted line designates the boundary between the ground surface and the water (water is to the north and east)

Numbers on blocks refer to facsimile copies

Spot heights are given relative to the B.M. Datum

Block 11 is under block 12



Plate 18a: View of the temple remains from the south west



Plate 18b: View of the southern and central parts of the temple remains, from the south east corner of the trench (Photo. D M Bailey)





Plate 19a: View of the northern wall from the north east



Plate 19b: Block 16 lying in situ